

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 229654 TOSEC 270238

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: DAILY MAIL SUPPLEMENT - SEPTEMBER 16, 1976
(WM. F. BUCKLEY LETTER)

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. HAS WRITTEN A LETTER DATED
SEPTEMBER 13 WHICH ATTACHES AN EDITORIAL WHICH HIS OFFICE
SAYS SHOULD APPEAR IN TODAY'S WASHINGTON STAR. FOLLOWING
IS TEXT OF LETTER AND ATTACHMENT:

BEGIN TEXT (LETTER): DEAR HENRY:

I HOPE THIS PLEASES YOU. I REGRET IT IF I HAVE HURT WL.

WITH WARM REGARDS, WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. END TEXT (LETTER)

BEGIN TEXT (ATTACHMENT)

TITLE: THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN
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PAGE 02 STATE 229654 TOSEC 270238

CONCERNING THE TALK ABOUT SOLZHENITSYN -- THE REPUBLICANS INCLUDED IN THEIR PLATFORM A SPECIFIC TRIBUTE TO HIM; THE DEMOCRATS SURREPTITIOUSLY CONTRIVED TO LOSE A PROPOSAL THAT THEY DO THE SAME THING -- A FEW POINTS OUGHT TO BE MADE.

1. HENRY KISSINGER, WHEN HE WAS FIRST INVITED BY PRESIDENT-ELECT RICHARD NIXON TO BECOME HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, GAVE MR. NIXON TO READ ROBERT CONQUEST'S BOOK, THE GREAT TERROR. IT IS AN ACCOUNT OF THE CARNAGE WHICH STALIN FOUND NECESSARY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROLETARIAN RULE IN RUSSIA, WHICH CARNAGE HAD AT LEAST THE ADVANTAGE OF DELIGHTING HIM. MY INFORMATION DOES NOT EXTEND TO WHETHER MR. NIXON READ THIS BOOK, ALTHOUGH IF HE DID, HE CANNOT HAVE ASSIMILATED ITS MEANING, TO JUDGE FROM THE EULOGY TO MAO TSE-TUNG ON HIS BELATED DEPARTURE FROM THIS VALE OF TEARS, WHICH REACHED HIGH TIDE IN CHINA UNDER HIS RULE. AS WELL PAY TRIBUTE TO JOSEF STALIN. THE TWO GENTLEMEN WERE KILLERS ON APPROXIMATELY THE SAME SCALE, THOUGH PERHAPS THE EDGE GOES TO MAO WHO, AFTER ALL, HAD A LARGER POOL OF BODIES TO KILL FROM THAN STALIN HAD.

HENRY KISSINGER, SHORTLY AFTER GERALD FORD BECAME PRESIDENT, SAT DOWN TO READ A CHAPTER OR TWO FROM GULAG ARCHIPELAGO, HAVING UP UNTIL THEN READ ONLY SOLZHENITSYN' CANCER WARD. HE FOUND THE BOOK SO ENGROSSING, HE ENDED BY READING IT ALL. HE THEN READ THROUGH IVAN DENISOVICH, AND FIRST CIRCLE. HE THEN TOOK GULAG TO PRESIDENT FORD WITH THE RECOMMENDATION THAT HE READ IT. ONE DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER MR. FORD DID SO. IF RICHARD REEVES IS CORRECT IN SAYING THAT MR. FORD HAS NOT READ A BOOK IN TEN YEARS, THE ODDS ARE AGAINST IT. STILL, THE IMPULSE OF MR. KISSINGER IS WHAT WE ARE FOCUSING ON.

HENRY KISSINGER, AFTER EXPERIENCING SOLZHENITSYN, MADE KNOWN TO A RELEVANT FIGURE THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF SOLZHENITSYN WHO AT THAT PERIOD WAS STILL IN MOSCOW. IT IS NOT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 STATE 229654 TOSEC 270238

INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE DECISION OF THE KREMLIN TO EXILE SOLZHENITSYN, RATHER THAN SEND HIM BACK FOR A REFRESHER COURSE ON GULAG, OR ON ONE OF THOSE TERMINAL VISITS TO THE LUBYANKA PRISON, WAS THE RESULT OF KISSINGER'S INCREMENTAL INTERVENTION. NOT INCONCEIVABLE, IN OTHER WORDS, THAT KISSINGER SAVED THE LIFE OF SOLZHENITSYN

2. WHEN THE QUESTION AROSE WHETHER SOLZHENITSYN SHOULD BE

INVITED TO THE WHITE HOUSE, THE ADVICE THAT HE SHOULD NOT BE CAME FROM KISSINGER, WHO NOW SAYS THAT HIS JUDGMENT WAS DEFECTIVE, THOUGH IN FACT IT WASN'T (IT IS THE POLICY OF DETENTE WHICH IS DEFECTIVE). IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT A SECRETARY OF STATE PRIMARILY CONCERNED TO ACHIEVE A CERTAIN RELATIONSHIP WITH A

FOREIGN POWER QUITE NATURALLY SHRINKS FROM CERTAIN KINDS OF PROVOCATIONS. WHEN KHRUSHCHEV CAME HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME AND SPOKE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, SOMEBODY DURING THE QUESTION PERIOD ASKED ABOUT THE USE OF SOVIET TANKS TO RUN OVER HUNGARIAN STUDENTS. KHRUSHCHEV WITH ONE EMPHATIC DISPLAY OF CHOLER MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOT COME TO AMERICA TO ANSWER QUESTIONS OF THAT KIND: AND NEVER AGAIN, ON THAT TRIP, DID AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER-MAN DARE RETURN TO THE SUBJECT. YOU CANNOT TREAT KHRUSHCHEV THE WAY YOU TREAT PRESIDENT NIXON. YOU CANNOT FETE THE MOST ELOQUENT CRITIC OF THE SOVIET UNION WHILE CARRYING ON DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS, SIMPLY, A MATTER OF INCOMPATIBLE POLICIES. WHO SAYS A, TO QUOTE THE CLICHE, MUST SAY B.

IN OTHER WORDS, ONE CANNOT DEDUCE FROM MR. KISSINGER'S REBUFF TO SOLZHENITSYN, ANY LACK OF REVERENCE FOR SOLZHENITSYN.

3. WHAT IS DISMAYING IS THE CULTURE IMPREGNATED BY THAT ACT OF MR. KISSINGER. NOW WINSTON LORD, THE YOUNG AND GIFTED ASSISTANT TO MR. KISSINGER, IS DETECTED, AT A SEMINAR FOR STATE DEPARTMENT INTERNS, USING THE WORD "FASCIST" LOOSELY AT THE EXPENSE OF SOLZHENITSYN. WHAT MR. LORD SAID CANNOT BE PUT MORE PRECISELY THAN THIS -- BECAUSE HE SAYS HE DID NOT (UNDERLINED) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 STATE 229654 TOSEC 270238

CALL SOLZHENITSYN A FASCIST, AND AS A LONGTIME FRIEND OF MR. LORD, I AM PREPARED TO ACCEPT HIS WORD ANY TIME. BUT HE DID NOT DENY USING THE WORD. AND THIS BRINGS US TO THE FINAL POINT THAT OUGHT TO BE MADE HERE. THE BUREAUCRATIC REFLEX OF WINSTON LORD AT SO YOUNG AN AGE IS THE RESULT OF A DISEASE AT LEAST AS CONTAGIOUS AS, SAY, THE SWINE FLU, AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS, BREEDING AT ITS MOST VIRULENT MANIFESTATION, THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE FINALLY HAD TO DISPATCH AT NUREMBERG FOR HYPER-FIDELITY TO THE REGNANT IDEOLOGY. AND, ALAS, NO ANTI-TOXIN IS IN SIGHT. ONE CAN ONLY APPEAL FROM WINSTON DRUNK TO WINSTON SOBER -- BY TELLING HIM, GENTLY, THAT THOUGH FOREIGN POLICY IS TO A SUBSTANTIAL EXTENT A VALUE-FREE SCIENCE, IT OUGHT NOT TO CROWD OUT MORAL REALITY. TO LINK SOLZHENITSYN TO A MODERN POLITICAL

MOVEMENT-PHILOSOPHY THAT GLORIFIES VIOLENCE AND THE
SUBORDINATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE STATE IS
INTELLECTUALLY WRONG-HEADED. AND TO SAY SUCH A THING ABO
THE NOBLEST MAN ALIVE IS PHILISTINE. END TEXT (ATTACH-
MENT) HABIB

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